1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Though most parents exhibit self-discipline, there are instances where tempers are completely lost. Of the conduct of one woman it is reported, "I have seen her knock her little boy around like a ball. Every time he got up, she would knock him down again." Coolness between one father and son goes back to the time, in the words of the latter, "when he used me just like a slave. He whipped me, made me work, and kept me around the house." Similar difficulties have arisen between another father and son because of the father's severity.

F. is a pretty hard man with his wife and children. You see that stick he carries. Well, he is always poking those children with it, and they keep away from him as much as they can. His oldest boy is at Whitetail now. At night he stays in an old shack there. The place where he stays is all caved in. The boy has no blankets there but just sleeps between two old mattresses. The father is trying to get him home, but the boy won't come because he was treated in such a mean way. Not long ago his father tried to hit him with that stick. The boy took the stick away and hit his father on the head instead, and then he went off to Whitetail.

For serious breaches of etiquette or morals the adult in a position of authority takes direct action. A child who impolitely refused a gift quickly learned this:

My grandmother asked me about it. I told her that I had refused it. Then she gave me a good box on the ear, for it is very impolite according to the Indian custom to refuse anything that is offered. If someone gives you a gift, you must take it, no matter what his station in life is. The lower he is, the more quickly you must take it so as not to hurt his feelings.

At a later period, for sexual intercourse, the girl may be whipped by her father, sometimes publicly, with a rope or a stick. The parent expresses himself strongly during the chastisement, reminding her of the good advice she has disregarded and of the wrong she has done the family. The public nature of the punishment acts as a lesson to other girls. The girls "cry loud and long, and the neighbors around usually watch."

Parents who do not wish to whip their boys find other ways of correcting them:

The parents don't like to strike their bigger boys. They get some other fellow to punish him. If a boy doesn't obey and is rough and fights all the time, they take him to the hoop-and-pole ground. His father says, "We'll see how tough

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

face—these are not considered good-looking. A full oval face is liked and medium height, not too tall. We like small hands and feet, but not too thin. A plump, full body is best. Legs should be in proportion to the rest of the body and not too thin. Mouth and ears should be in proportion to the rest of the face, not big. 832 826

Premarital sex experiences.—Parents are not always successful in bringing a daughter to marriage a virgin. Occasional cases of rape have been reported. (684 839 [585]

Rape is classed as stealing. Sometimes a man is killed for this. It is more serious to attack an unmarried than a married woman. If the person who did it is found out, there is bound to be revenge by a member of the family who have been wronged. This is individual revenge or revenge backed by a family. It does not involve all the people. [627]

If the woman is married, the husband has the right to do anything to the one who mistreated her. The man's relatives may try to smooth it over for him. Payment is often offered.

The girl, instead of being an innocent victim, may carry on a clandestine affair. This is known as "night crawling," or, literally, "he crawls up to someone." One moonless night I was talking with two men, one young and one old. The young man remarked, "It's a good time for night crawling." The old man laughed, explained the meaning of the phrase, and added: "It's something that used to happen in the old days too. The word was used in the old times. But to do this was considered a disgraceful thing. A man would be beaten if he was caught at it. When you do this to a virgin, they kill your horses if you are caught." 836 [684]

If sexual relations between two young people are discovered, the girl's family has suffered an economic loss. Should the young man not be considered eligible by the parents, their anger is particularly aroused, for they have probably lost a chance to marry their daughter worthily and yet cannot force a suitable match from the intrigue. In this case "the parents of the girl have the right to handle the boy. They won't demand payment. They demand punishment, physical punishment." "When a girl goes wrong, it is considered very serious. It is up to the girl's parents. The man might be killed. Usually the couple is made to marry." As the last sentence indicates, the average family is likely to take the philosophical view: 836 684 [583]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

836 684 583 [848] They don't like it if there is sexual activity before marriage. If there is a child as a result of this, they make them marry. This kind of marriage is the same as any other kind. Polite terms are used between the in-laws, and presents are given to the father-in-law. They usually marry after the child is born, for a girl conceals her condition as long as she can.

In another account the possibility of flight to avoid the wrath of the family is mentioned, and there is a hint of retribution even in the case of a forced marriage:

Sometimes she went to another band to escape punishment. Nothing was done in the other band. Sometimes the boy and girl were forced to marry. When a girl of good family got into trouble, the two families talked it over, and they were married. But the man had to pay a horse because he had gone with the girl on the sly. The horse pardons the case.

836 583 602 626 Often pressure for honorable marriage comes from the relatives of the boy as well as those of the girl, for they are conscious of the wrong their kinsman has committed and are eager to avoid difficulties between the two families.

One night I was caught by another fellow lying with this girl. The next night several more caught me. The news spread. The relatives of the girl found it out, came to me, and asked me if it was true.

One of them said, "You've been going with my relative. You've been doing this all the time. Why aren't you a man and tell me you want to marry her instead of keeping her outside nights where it's cold and things might happen?" . . . .

My father, sisters, and brother knew nothing of this. I was sneaking. The girl's relatives told my parents, and my father told me that I should marry her. He said that I should let him tell the girl's relatives of my intentions so that they wouldn't feel bitter against me.

Her brothers and her mother, too, found out. They said to the girl, "You've been fooling around with this man. You'd better get married or else there will be talk against you." I really wanted to marry her and she wanted to marry me. I was just young and didn't have sense enough to do it right.

836 Of course, many assignations go undiscovered. The young people are capable of clever devices against prying elders. One girl, for instance, took advantage of the close family bonds and contrived to have a sleeping-place at home and another at her grandmother's. When she did not return to one of these beds, it was assumed that she was in the other. Often she was in neither place but in the encampment of her lover, a young widower.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

754 One characteristic often attributed to the sorcerer is sexual
157 aberrance. The stories of naked individuals displaying them-
834 selves come to mind in this connection. In the mythology, when
[839] Coyote is accused rightfully of having had intercourse with his
mother-in-law, his rejoinder is, "That's witch talk." It will be
[602] remembered that one who neglects to hide from his avoidance
relatives, or who is too familiar with the mate of a sibling or a
cousin, runs the risk of being named a witch. Nor was it an ac-
cident that the tempters who offered a sorcerer's tongue were
unclothed.

754 Incest is promptly equated with witchcraft. Of a person ac-
835 cused of marrying a close relative, an informant said, "In my
opinion he must be a witch, and the tribe accuses him of that be-
cause he married a close relative. People are afraid of him."
Another commentator declared: "In cases of incest, people say,
'They must be witches to do a thing like that.' I have heard sev-
eral people who are accused of incest referred to as witches.
They say, 'Even some witches wouldn't do that.' "

754 Public exposure and beatings are the mildest punishments
• 684 meted out to those discovered in incest. Just as often the ex-
treme penalty is demanded.

If two persons committed incest and were found out, a crowd would gather, and any headman would say, "I know those two had intercourse together; get them!" Everyone considered them witches, and they were burned. Incest sometimes goes before a council of people and sometimes the parents kill them outright. Usually the parents handle them.

[586] If they are distant relatives and did not know they were related and find it out after they marry, they go apart. That has happened often, I have heard. But if they know it and everybody knows they are relatives and they marry anyway, in the old days they would kill both of them as witches. That's what N. used to tell us happened before there were white men and law.

539 A "love-death" story is told of a man who could not face the
835 wrath of his relatives after misconduct with his sister:
762 In the old days there were a brother and sister, children of the same parents, who had been lying together. The people were suspicious of them for a long time. The young man thought that the old people knew about them, although they really did not. He knew that if they were caught, a terrible punishment would come, so he took this way out.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

He cut a stick about nine inches long and began to whittle on it. He sharpened it at both ends. Suspecting that they were caught, the couple stole off and they lay together again, but the girl didn't see the stick that the boy had made. When they lay down, the boy put the stick at her belly, and when he pushed down, the stick went through her. Because it was sharpened at both ends, it went through him too, and they both died.

The people missed them, searched for them, and found them dead. In this case the parents were good and not witches, and that is why the boy killed his sister and himself.

In these days the charge of witchcraft is still made in cases of incest but not with as much effectiveness as formerly:

R. married C.'s daughter. C. and this boy's father were full brothers. C. didn't like it. He went to the boy. He told him, "Your father was my full brother. Why do you want to marry my daughter? People will call you a witch." He went to the agent about it, but he finally gave in. That's why there is so much trouble here now, they say. It's because things like this go on. The young people now are like dogs, like billy goats.

By the equation of incest with witchcraft, the gravest crime in the religious sphere and the most abhorrent act in the social realm have been combined. The charge of witchcraft acts as the dragnet which combs the society for the flagrant aberrant.[15]

Punishment of witches.--From the attitude toward those judged guilty of incest, the stern treatment of witches may be anticipated:

Sometimes personal revenge is taken on the witch. Every once in a while a witch is killed by the one he has been working against or by a dead man's relatives who find him out. Often they are shot. No one knows for sure who does it. . . . The last case I know of happened twenty years ago. A man and his wife were shot as they came on horseback out of the canyon from the feast grounds where they had been working witchcraft.

[15] The data presented indicate the strong reactions of the majority of informants to incest and their equation of it with witchcraft. Some informants took a milder stand, however. Said one: "For incest between distant relatives, the punishment would not be so severe. A person might be whipped until he couldn't stand, but that's all. There is talk and disapproval, but after the pair are punished, the thing is forgiven and forgotten." Said another: "Not so much is thought about it if they are very distant relatives. They are whipped and insulted. This would not spoil their chance of marriage later on. A person who is pretty hard up is bound to get married sooner or later."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing P. 410]

PLATE XV

142
301
302
291
684

Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe

WOMAN WITH MUTILATED NOSE

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

837 [156] [626] cited over such an affair, "sometimes his friends will try to inflame him." Thus the social pressure upon the husband for stern action is often almost equal to the efforts of the leaders to settle the matter peaceably.

• 684 The woman, since she is close at hand, is likely to be the first to feel the husband's wrath. A beating is the least punishment she suffers. If there is no one to intercede for her, her very life may be forfeit, or she may be subjected to mutilation:

A man never whips his wife without reason. If he finds out that she is unfaithful, he whips her, cuts her nose, or else kills her. He would have to have evidence of unfaithfulness and not hearsay, however. Treatment like this does not come for little things. For not obeying him, or for not working, a man would merely [593] scold his wife, and he would do so in private. If the woman has committed adultery, the people think that what happens to her is her own fault and don't say anything about the punishment she gets.

The reason they cut the nose of a woman is to make her look ugly. She is marked so that no one will meddle with her. One woman who is still living has her nose cut like this. Her husband cut her nose out of jealousy and left her because she went with another man.

The husband is just as insistent that the man who has disrupted his home be punished:

After the husband has punished or killed his wife, he will go after the man and kill him. But the other, if he is wise, will run away and not return for years until it has blown over. I cannot remember a case where the man who is to blame [627] has killed the husband instead. If that happened, close relatives of the husband [602] would kill him.

837 578 Nothing leads more quickly to trouble between men than suspicion or charges of wife seduction:

This morning I went up to a place where a group of men were standing. I was right beside B. Pretty soon L. came. You could see he was angry. He placed himself right in front of B. and said, "Somebody was crawling around my camp last night and bothering my wife, and I just want to say that if I catch anyone around there again, I'm going to kill him." You could see he was talking to B. B. just hung his head. Then L. talked to B. directly and said, "If you ever come around my camp again, I'm going to kill you."

I saw there might be trouble, so I stepped between them. "Now don't get mad," I told L. "Don't get yourself into trouble."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The birth of twins is considered evidence of unfaithfulness: 845 837

If any woman has twins, she is looked upon as having run with other men besides her husband. My sister is one of a pair of twins.[4] The other died a few days after birth. I think they were both girls. The older one died. I never heard my father say anything about it. One twin would not be kept. We believe that both could not grow up; one would die. They keep the boy if the twins are a boy and a girl.

Sometimes twins are born. Twins are considered unlucky. Twins cannot grow up; they always die. Unfaithfulness on the part of the woman causes twins. Sometimes one of the twins is stillborn.

If it is the husband who is philandering, his wife scolds him 837 and complains to her close relatives. But the man is in no danger of a beating or of mutilation. Few wives take desperate action of any kind:

If the husband is unfaithful and is discovered by his wife, his wife may say to him, "Well, you love the other woman better than me; go and marry her." Or she might let it go and forget and forgive entirely. The women don't have power [562] to do much to the men. A very mean woman might stab her husband at night or [684] something like that. The people wouldn't blame her much, because it is the husband's fault. But only a very hard-up man would marry the woman after [626] this; so that keeps women from killing their husbands.

However, a woman who is very much angered by her husband's conduct can send him away: 837 586

I heard the quarrel at the time. She told him, "You think you're going to have this woman and myself for your wives, and you think you're going to stay with this woman one time and with me another time. You think you're going to go back and forth between us two wives. You are mistaken! You might pull that on somebody else, but not on me. So you'll marry that woman. Go right ahead and marry her. Our married life is over; we'll quit here. You'll leave this house without anything and go and live with that woman." She sent him away.

It is apparent that both husband and wife are in a position to demand fair play and to take appropriate action. Enough feeling of self-importance and competence has been communicated to individuals of both sexes during the training period, so that no one is willing to accept humiliation as a matter of course.

The permanent disruption of a household involves the entire 000

[4] The informant is not here impugning the virtue of his own mother, since this is a half-sister, the offspring of his father's second wife.